

PEACE NEWS

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2d.

Do YOU Remember —

In 1917 we fought on till Germany surrendered, when we might have ended the war by negotiation

—WHAT HAPPENED?

THE public mind has a short memory. It forgets what is past and believes all that it is told; it has been deafened and doped by propaganda into a condition in which it is incapable of using its imagination or thinking for itself.

There is a striking example at the present time of its short memory.

As the attack on the islands of Italy proceeds in a horror of bombing, blasting, and bombardment, the Italian people are entreated to overthrow Mussolini and are reminded in broadcasts from this country that it was Mussolini who brought them into the war by a dastardly attack upon France as she lay prostrate under the German conqueror.

The public mind has forgotten that these same phrases were used in regard to the Russian attack upon Poland in September, 1939. The press at that time with one voice reviled Stalin for his "stab in the back," and Mr. Chamberlain, who was then Prime Minister, in more moderate language, informed the House of Commons that

"this attack by the Soviet Government upon Poland (a country with whom she had a non-aggression pact), at a moment when Poland was prostrate in the face of overwhelming forces brought against her by Germany, cannot be justified."

Is it surprising then that the public mind, as it applauds the official "unconditional surrender" statements, forgets what happened so long ago as 1918 when the Government of this country insisted on dictating terms on the basis of surrender?

It has been told, and has come to believe, that it is merely Hitler-propaganda that the Versailles Treaty was unjust and harsh. It is forgotten by these victims of British propaganda that, long before Hitler's name was even known, prominent people all over the world were saying that the terms of the 1919 Peace Treaty were tantamount to another war.

"We are in for a low period, then a high period, then the devil will be to pay all over the world," said General Bliss, an American delegate at the Peace Conference.

Where Memory is Longer

He was only one among many who prophesied disaster, but short memories and propaganda have done their work, and it is forgotten that a defeated country has a much longer memory than a conquering one.

The desire to revenge the utter defeat of the French armies in the 1870 war was no doubt strong in the minds of the French delegates at the Peace Conference which met at the Palace of Versailles in January, 1919 (a conference at which no representatives were allowed from the defeated Powers, not even an observer) just as the desire to wipe out the remembrance of that conference was in the mind of Hitler when France capitulated to his armies in 1940.

If the public mind of Britain forgets what "unconditional surrender" means, the public mind of Germany does not. To Germany it means another "Versailles Diktat." Rather than that, they will fight on for years, and stand solidly behind Hitler and his Gestapo, feared and hated though that regime may be, because it is less feared and hated than defeat by the United Nations.

To a world in agony "unconditional surrender" means continuing the war for many more years with its ever-increasing horror of bombing, famine, and unspeakable human suffering. How can such conditions induce a state of mind in which wise provisions for the future peace of the world will be made?

"All over the world there is the devil to pay," and it may already be too late to save a future generation from another war; it will be too late if the nations go on to "unconditional surrender."

Alternative to More War

What then is the alternative? The alternative is negotiation.

But if the word is so much as mentioned, that unhappy patient "the public mind" immediately visualizes a dishonourable surrender. It is one of the major tragedies of war that negotiation appears to be dishonourable, while bombing, mutilating, starving, and drowning one's fellow human beings are right and honourable.

It is a sad indictment of our state of mind that an offer from Spain to mediate "in seeking a just and fraternal peace with an abusive outcry on the grounds that it was 'Axis inspired.'" Should we not have been grateful that a desire for peace emanated from the Axis and ashamed that it did not emanate from ourselves?

"But we cannot trust Hitler, so we ternal peace not on a basis of aggrandisement" should have been cannot negotiate with him," cries that public mind with its short memory.

It is true that Hitler has frequently broken his promises, but in spite of that we do in fact negotiate all the time over exchange of prisoners, parcels and postal arrangements, and food relief, and it is forgotten that Hitler is not the only person who has broken his word in what may have been considered to be national interests. National interests almost invariably betray trusts and broken promises are not confined to one nation.

What Negotiation Means

Let us consider what negotiation would mean.

Instead of going on with the war for years and then dictating a peace in the atmosphere of hatred and bitterness engendered by such prolonging of the human agony and misery of the peoples of the world, there would be an agreement to cease hostilities while the belligerent and the neutral nations gathered at a conference table.

In the silence, as the roar of the guns and blast and explosion of bombs ceased; in the respite, as relief from imminent danger and sorrow surged up in human hearts the peoples of the world would have time to glimpse, through the slowly settling

—Secret History—

IF we could read the secret history of our enemies, we should find in each man's life sorrow and suffering enough to disarm all hostility.

—LONGFELLOW

by
SYBIL MORRISON

(Acting Chairman of the PPU
Armistice Campaign Committee)

dust of ruined cities and devastated homes, something of the truth.

Memory would awaken, reason would function again; it would be a brave man indeed who would go back to a thankful and rejoicing people with no alternative to offer but continuing the war.

Worth Trying

Surely it is worth trying? If Lord Lansdowne's plea for negotiation in 1917 had fallen upon ears not deafened by the trumpets of militarism, the history of the whole world might have been different. A negotiated peace in 1917, however imperfect, might have sown the seeds of fellowship instead of future wars.

The Spanish mediation offer has fallen upon ears deafened by the trumpets sounding "unconditional surrender." It may be that the voice of the Peace Pledge Union will fail to make itself heard amid the clamour, but, as John Middleton Murry has said in a recent article: "Pacifism is a venture in faith. And faith would not be faith if it were sure of success."

We are not, we cannot be, sure of success, but to secure public support for an armistice is our venture in faith; faith in the humanity, the decency, the ultimate reasonableness of man, which, if it were allowed to function, could and would remove even the mountain of war.

PACIFIST COMMENTARY EDITED BY "OBSERVER"

THE evidence accumulates that, after the war, we shall be confronted with a physically and morally devastated Europe. In this matter we need to speak carefully. First, we have to recognize that the moral devastation is much more serious than the physical devastation. Second, that after the war does not simply mean in consequence of the war. Third, it is no use for pacifists, or anybody else, to take refuge from the problem in a sentimental optimism.

To reiterate that "all men are brothers" as though it were a political truth which will become operative as soon as the unnatural conditions of war are ended is vain. War is not an unnatural condition for human beings. It is more natural than any positive alternative to war.

True, a kind of peace is as natural to men as overt war; but it is the peace which is itself an incipient and disguised war. Hence the ease with which nations plunge into overt war; hence also the tremendous difficulty of stopping the war when once begun. If it were really felt to be an unnatural event by the mass of humans, it would be a fairly easy matter to stop it. In fact, war is largely a consummation and fulfilment of the partly suppressed desires of the natural man.

Continuity

THIS moral continuity between war and peace needs to be held firmly in the mind. The common phrase "the outbreak of war" suggests a profound truth: war is indeed an eruption of a deep-seated disease, which the natural man does not believe to be a disease at all. The apparent breach of continuity which men feel when war begins is no more real than that which apparently occurs when an infected blood breaks out into an abscess.

Assuredly, war has become much more terrible, but that is because of

Is War Natural?

the new mass-organization, and the new machine technique. Compare the bombardment of Pantelleria with Nelson's bombardment of Copenhagen. Warring man has passed from one dimension of experience into another: from "human" war into "inhuman" war. But equally man has passed in the same period of time from "human" to "inhuman" peace.

—Men into Masses

THE essence of the change is the organization of men into masses, and the new mechanical techniques which have made it possible. The state-machine of the most tyrannous absolutism of the pre-industrial era was as leaky as a sieve; all kinds of de facto freedoms were possible to the little folk who escaped the mesh. All kinds of rough and ready personal relations. But now the mesh of the sieve is very fine; the framework within which personal relations are possible is very rigid. I know a poor devil for whom it is almost a matter of life or death that he should have a new suit of working clothes. His spiritual salvation, almost, depends on this. Yet I cannot give him one.

That is only a tiny instance of the process of depersonalization caused by state-organization even in a "free democracy." Pre-war Fascism carried it, deliberately, to the point of moral devastation. Perhaps Communism did so equally: it is a more debatable point. But in the Fascist countries this moral devastation has been carried to such lengths that recovery, taking shape in an indigenous alternative government, is very questionable.

"The Seed" Will Grow

THAT is the theme of Ignazio Silone's book "The Seed Beneath the Snow," reviewed in The Economist, Jun. 19. Under twenty years of Fascism trustful relation between men has been destroyed. It will be, painfully and slowly, built up again,

says Silone, out of two materials: the basic humanity of the very poor who have nothing to lose, and the spiritual devotion of the handful of true Christians. Silone is emphatic that the institutional Church is irrevocably compromised. It has accepted the moral devastation as the price to be paid for its continued prestige. In other words, it has sacrificed Christianity for the Church. The consequence is that the dream of rebuilding the shattered morale of Europe by the influence of the institutional Church is—a dream.

I feel that Silone's picture is true: and that the real rebuilding of Europe is far beyond the scope of organized Christianity, or any international Food Committee. It will be cause for rejoicing if the operations of UNRRA—the very initials of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration are somehow ominous—are not the occasion of a new descent into sycophancy.

(Continued on page 2)

HARD THINKING

THIS fortnight's contributions to the Peace News Fund include £15 from the sale of further "treasures," and an impressive collection of £2 10s. in threepenny pieces.

The number of thoughtful articles which I receive as editor is steadily increasing. They are in the main concerned with the future policy of pacifism: with the political and social implications of pacifism in the world of modern technology.

The evidence that much hard and deep thinking is going on in the movement is as comforting as it is galling to have so little room to print it. But it only proves how necessary it is that Peace News should be able to take instant action to increase its size and circulation, at the earliest opportunity. That, I need hardly say, is one of the main objects of the Fund.

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THE EDITOR

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The Gulf

WHAT is the significance of Pantelleria? The change of tune in the press in the course of the five days following its surrender was remarkable. At first there was a universal chorus that it showed how Europe could and would be reconquered. The pattern of victory was established. Then came visible hesitations, and discrepancies—sometimes in the same newspaper. Thus the Telegraph (Jun. 14) hoped, in its leader, that "this new air technique will destroy the enemy's last illusion that the walls of the fortress of Europe cannot be breached except at crippling cost," while Gen. Martin, in the adjoining column, showed that the conquest of Pantelleria depended on "a suitably placed land-mass as the base of operations." Conquering such suitably placed land-masses (though Gen. Martin did not say so explicitly) is, in fact, conquering Europe. You are back at the beginning of the problem.

It is not surprising, therefore, that two days later The Times (Jun. 16) reaches the following conclusion:

"Our capture of Pantelleria was in its immediate results a resounding success. . . . It is no detraction from that, but rather the most ordinary prudence, to point out first that we were lucky, and, secondly, that the operation proves very little. . . . It proved in the event so easy that its success is no criterion of how successful future operations of the same kind will be against sturdier opposition. . . . There is perhaps a danger of its arousing expectations at home that we shall now proceed to mop up island after island and finally sweep irresistibly ashore on the European mainland with the same speed and immunity."

The expectation does exist; and the press itself aroused it. It is all very well on the fifth day to acknowledge in small print in one of the soberest newspapers that "the fact is that we shall never again meet anything so easy." The damage is done. And damage it is. In the atmosphere of false optimism thus created, ordinary men and women really do believe that there will be complete victory by Christmas. They talk confidently about it in the train. Consequently, it never enters their head that now, more than ever before, there is a solid case for trying for a negotiated peace. The danger of defeat has been removed from us. But between defeat and positive victory there is a great gulf fixed. The bodies, the lives, the hopes of millions of men will have to be poured into it before it can be crossed.

Now, if ever, is the time to pause and think, not for the pacifist, who has never ceased to do so, but for the realist, for the patriot in the accepted sense of the word, for the man who considers that the vital interests of Britain, as a matter of course, have precedence over the vital interests of all other nations. But instead of preparing men's minds for that condition of reflection on the truly tremendous cost of reconquering Europe, they are encouraged to believe that the cost will be negligible, and the process swift.

In this atmosphere of false optimism, which is largely created by itself, the Government is able to postpone and postpone again all realistic consideration of plans for a better society. Were we cynics, we might suppose that the Government, well knowing the nature of the gulf between the conquest of Pantelleria and the "unconditional surrender" of Europe, knows well that in that gulf, not only the lives of millions, but the hopes of a better society, will be simultaneously lost.

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The Passing of Democracy

By WILFRED WELLOCK

A careful survey of the road mankind has been travelling during the last century, and particularly since the dawn of the present century, under the aggressive leadership of the powerful industrialized States of the West, has become an urgent duty.

On that road humanity has lost far more of the finer treasures of life than it realizes. It has lost one value after another, one liberty after another, in the glamorous name of progress, as it is also doing in this war, in defence of freedom and democracy.

TODAY Britain and the United States are treading the totalitarian road, despite the horrors and dangers of which the Fascist States have given us ample warning. And they tread it with complete Labour and Communist endorsement, despite the fact that prior to 1938 considerable sections of the privileged classes in both countries openly rejoiced at the triumph of the Fascist Dictators over the working classes.

Nor is that all. Attempts are now being made to win the nation's assent to an extension of rule by a National Government, which would be predominantly Conservative, for a period of ten years or so after the war.

Does anyone imagine that after fifteen years of semi-totalitarian rule, during which the catastrophic consequences of the economic revolutions wrought by the war would have strengthened every tendency towards Fascism, it would be possible to return to the Democracy of 1939, feeble and weakening though it was?

The values and liberties that are being lost in this war cover the whole field of man's being—functional, social, religious, economic, and spiritual. Let us briefly examine them.

SOCIAL LOSS

The first to occur were functional, and social, and were caused by the substitution of machinery for craft, and of factory labour under an impersonal employer for individual service rendered to known persons.

A certain amount of skill was needed to run the new machinery, of course, but this was not to be com-

pared with the skill of the craftsman. The sacrifice of skill involved the loss of knowledge and understanding of Nature's raw material, which knowledge had been handed down from generation to generation. Also the satisfaction was lost which derives from making useful, durable, and beautiful things, and from the social bonds which the rendering of service to neighbours creates.

These losses were integral and irreparable, for they were the cement which gave to the old English village its solidity and strength.

This process of individual and social disintegration was carried a stage further by the elimination of religion from the most vital fields of human experience. The substitution of the profit motive for service, and thus of money values for spiritual values, struck at the heart of Christian teaching, brought religion into contempt, and produced social conditions which caused the workers to withdraw from the church in ever-increasing numbers. Most of them have been without spiritual guides ever since, and have, in consequence, lost the power "to see life truly and to see it whole."

CONFLICT IN THE CHURCH

The sanctification of riches and of their pursuit, by the church, intensified the conflict between capital and labour. Strikes and lock-outs invariably carried that conflict into the churches or chapels, where the workers and employers worshipped together.

The persistent cold-shouldering of the workers by the church caused the former to turn to politics, and increasingly to Socialism, for social salva-

tion. The failure of the socialist revolution is now leading to Communism, while, in despair, the vested interests are turning to Fascism. We thus move towards an era of totalitarianism, in which religion is superseded by ideology.

Bereft of community function, of vital neighbourly relations, and of religion, the worker was next robbed of all economic independence and to a large extent of his economic security. The extension of mass-production methods into every field of industry, the substitution of the big combine for the individual firm and of monopoly for competition, led to the glutting of the world's markets and mass unemployment. Threatened with a recurrence of slumps like that of 1930-4, the worker saw his security and the last vestiges of his independence slipping away.

Helpless and hopeless, his one concern was bread, and his only means to it work, when he could get it, insurances and Public Assistance. To this pass had his boasted democracy brought him. His impotence and humiliation were complete. Realizing that he was the victim of forces which were beyond his comprehension, let alone his control, he gave up the struggle for independence and social betterment and sought refuge in little ameliorations and excitements, which at least made his life endurable.

* GREATER SENSE OF IMPOTENCE

This sense of economic impotence and social isolation was heightened by the rapid extension of the assembling line. This device told the operator in plain language that intelligence was a hindrance to output, and that he would be much happier if he became a mere appendage of the machine.

It was now obvious that his chief uses to the State were to act as a cog during peace and as a madman during war. He had become the mass-man, having by now lost most of the rights and qualities of a human person.

The term "mass-man" signifies disintegrated man, man shorn of all his human rights and values—of effective social function and vital social relations, of knowledge and understanding, of economic and political responsibility, of economic and spiritual independence.

Integrated man of the pre-industrial age thus becomes a rudderless robot, upon whose impoverished, purposeless mind the vested interests, through their Government, their press, and other agencies, impose their will, triumphant over all their opponents. They regard the mass-mind as their special preserve, which they are ready to protect against all comers, especially during crises.

In the evolution of the mass-mind, and in the power of money over it, we have the final defeat of democracy in the modern world. There is still a limited field in which the voice of conscience may be effective, but in regard to the things which affect the bases of class power, democracy is a myth.

If there is to be any future for democracy or even for the human race, it must begin with the re-creation of man.

Man's Natural Trust

A PACIFIST COMMENTARY
(Continued from page one)

Unions and Morrison

THIS is but to touch the fringe of a problem, so immense, so far outside the habitual range of our thought that it is almost completely ignored. You will look in vain through the speeches of Mr. Churchill for any indication of its existence. It is not mentioned in Parliament, or the Labour Party Conference. When it emerges in political facts, as it does in the continual deadlock of the new French National Committee, in the absence of even the outlines of an alternative government in Italy, or in the irreconcilable opposition between Chetniks and Partisans in Yugoslavia, the British Government is simply and plainly bewildered.

It never occurs to anybody that these are all symptoms of the same root cause: the devastation of human trustfulness throughout a continent that is still the heart of the world. If the problem were seen for what it is, the vain illusion that military victory will lead to better things would be gone. For victory will reveal to us the depth of the tragedy, a condition in Europe which we no longer have the moral strength to repair.

Will Labour "Oppose"?

I HOPE the Labour Party will have the moral strength to go into Opposition when the war ends. But the Labour Party Conference does not in the least convince me that it will. It took quite a lot to carry it into opposition even in 1931, when the weight of the Trade Unions was cast on that side of the scale. Will it be so cast in 1944—?

Perhaps, out of sheer traditional antipathy to the politicians; perhaps, out of an instinctive determination to resist individual conscription. But on the whole, my guess is "Probably not." The Unions will have many short-term gains from retaining the national set-up.

THAT is not the criticism of the Conference that is made by the Manchester Guardian (Jun 17). It is that the party showed it had no real interest in post-war reconstruction. Its rejection of Mr. Herbert Morrison showed that his recent "programme" speeches have made no impression, but left the suspicion that he is after a post-war coalition.

If this suspicion was their real motive, I think the Trade Unions were guided by a right instinct. Freedom in this country must depend on Parliamentary Opposition and alternative Government. But instinct is not enough. And I fear that the Unions are intellectually incoherent, and I suspect that their real grouse against Morrison is (1) that he is too clever and (2) that he has no Union background.

John Bull (T.U.)

FOR what are we to make of the passing of a Vansittartesque motion on the treatment of Germany—a policy which must involve war-regimentation and industrial compulsion in Britain? "It was in the main a vote of the Trade Unions against the local Labour Parties; in which the old pacifist strain runs strongly."

Probably. More significantly it is symptomatic of the John Bullishness of the Unions. And that seems to be the key to the queer combination of oppositionism, Vansittartism, and dislike of cleverness. But John Bull is a back number, even though Mr. Churchill still dresses the part. Extreme nationalism will ultimately be disastrous to the Trade Unions themselves. They are being deceived by their own illusory war-time strength.

Advice to a Viceroy

WHAT shall my comment be upon Sir Archibald Wavell's appointment as Viceroy? He is a soldier, but an unusually intelligent one; and it is conceivable that he will bring to bear on an intolerably complex problem a fresher and more courageous mind than any politician. I have no advice to give: except to release Gandhi and his fellow-Congressmen. I can echo, in this matter, the sentiment of Newman's hymn: "One step enough for me." And, very definitely, I do not ask to see the distant scene. Release Gandhi, and damn the consequences.

The Way Out?

BUT what counts most in Gen. Wavell's favour with me is his awareness of the

paradox of his own position. In an article in The Times some months ago he wrote: "Interchangeability between the soldier and the statesman passed for ever I fear in the last century. . . . No longer can one man hope to exercise both callings, though both are branches of the same craft: the governance of men and the ordering of human affairs."

We are all, in our degrees, paradoxes now: and the man who knows it probably has the best chance of doing something useful. The suggestion is being made that the new Viceroy intends to concentrate on the social and economic as distinct from the narrowly political development of India. It may be the way out.

"Realism"

OCCASIONALLY a word of honest realism creeps into the press. Liberator, in The Observer (Jun. 20), is this week's hero. "We know and appreciate that our Turkish friends are cool and sober realists. The same realism that kept them out of the war in 1941 will prevent them from missing the time in which, by exerting a real influence on the course of the war, they can secure for themselves an active part in the peace-settlement." Could we not find in the Berlin Observer for June, 1940: "We know that our Italian friends, etc." But there is no greater moral turpitude than backing the wrong horse.

Or again, on Hungary and Bulgaria: "Everybody knows that their limited adherence to the German cause was determined largely by the same reasons which determined our Turkish ally, in his slightly more favourable geographical position, to a policy of neutrality."

Everybody knows it? Yet what a relief that somebody should say it!

Devil - and - Deep in U.S.A.

YET another piece of realism—not so striking—comes from Mr. Vernon Bartlett, who has been in America (N Chronicle, June 18). Discussing the ambiguity of President Roosevelt's position, he points out that if, as is probable, he is elected for a fourth term, "War-weariness would inevitably become the most powerful of party weapons. Everything that Mr. Roosevelt demanded—and especially the acceptance of obligations for the maintenance of peace after the war is over—could become increasingly unpopular."

Apparently it is the devil—a Republican President in 1944—or the deep sea—an opposition which will make American alliance impossible. Mr. Bartlett goes on to say: "Lest he should lose the Catholic vote, Mr. Roosevelt may adopt a policy of foreign appeasement which will contrast unfavourably with his magnificent speeches in defence of democracy." Since democracy is the cause of the embarrassment, where are we? And where do we go from there?

Must Freedom Die ?

It has recently been suggested that war does not solve the problems it claims to solve but only obscures them. Of a whole series of problems this is true. But there are also those which war not only fails to solve or to obscure but actually scars upon the public conscience. Thus, in these war years, a spotlight has played upon the grim living conditions of the poor, upon malnutrition, upon the falling birth-rate, and so on. The determination that these things must not be taken hold, and the nation avoids the paradox of fighting to defend what it has not got by giving birth to planning.

THE crudity of our efforts to control a complex situation is hardly a fair object for scorn. The problem is so enormous, and our limitations so obvious, that blunders are inevitable.

It is all the more necessary, therefore, that we look as we leap; look, that is, at what has been done elsewhere that we might perhaps avoid some of the mistakes that have been made by others. Look, too, at what we may consider to be the real advantages of our national method of non-violent change in order that, as far as possible, it might be retained.

We can, I think, take comfort from the fact that, so far, Britain at war has become less totalitarian than many of us anticipated. Perhaps the values of a non-violent society have still sufficient vitality to enable us to resist the concept of the all-powerful State. It may be that various "interests" support the war, always by plaudits, but by performance only when it accords with their own welfare.

The quality of the forces that have stayed off the first totalitarian onrush will be more apparent as we tackle the giant tasks of reconstruction. In some degree it is indicated even now by our preliminary approaches to these matters.

Wide Agreement

The important item to note at this stage is the large measure of agreement among most diverse sections of the community as to the future. On such matters as maximum employment, better housing, greater security, a revival of agriculture, and the maintenance of a strong Britain, there is a striking unanimity. The Britain of tomorrow is to be streamlined.

It seems that men really want the technological efficiency of the organized, industrial State; at any rate, they cannot formulate a satisfying alternative. They want better houses as Beaverbrook wanted better bombers; they want beautiful cities as he wanted beautiful bombs. In other words, they want these things but they are not very concerned as to how they get them.

And they can have them.

Magic Key

A "strong" Britain is the magic key to fit this lock because it requires the minimum of change necessary to supply the other demands. It involves the smallest substitution of the profit mainspring of economic activity and replaces it by the patriotic motive of "security."

And by that substitution a Britain more fit for heroes to live in may be secured. In so far as land, labour, and equipment are available, a policy based upon grandiose ideas of national security can do much (between wars) to implement what John Citizen now regards as his due.

But at what cost? The people of Germany wanted very similar things; like us, they too wanted to be free from the leash of economic insecurity above all. And to the limits of illimitable war they were freed. Where the demand for economic

security has been answered by only the minimum change necessary to achieve it, it has been a step towards totalitarianism and war.

No doubt a measure of totalitarianism is now unavoidable. No doubt also our materially minded and materially exploited generation will strive for economic security above all things. Freedom weighs little in the balance of those who have been freely exploited and whose abiding fear is that of unemployment and poverty.

Safeguards

I submit however that in view of Britain's resistance to totalitarianism during the last three and a half years, we have no right to regard it as inevitable. We can exercise at least two safeguards.

The first is to purify our resistance to totalitarianism. In effect this means analysing freedom more finely than hitherto. It means a distinction between the pure milk of freedom and the freedom to exploit, which we call economic freedom. To rid themselves of that false freedom, whole nations have thrown religious and intellectual freedom to the winds.

Now, it is not so much a question of abandoning economic freedom, be-

by
H. P. FOWLER

cause that appears to have gone beyond recall, even if we wished to recall it. But by insisting upon the exercise of the more precious elements, the freedom of speech and of thought, and the freedom of worship, Britain (who has so often avoided the worst extremes) may save the true without clinging to the false. Perhaps the real test of the responsible person today is the extent to which he exercises and defends the elements of freedom which are vital, not merely to the British tradition, but to the human spirit.

The second safeguard lies in the integrity of Parliament. With so much power now concentrated in the State, Parliament has become the trustee of the people's freedom as never before. Nor can it defend this trusteeship without exercising it. Under war-stresses Parliament has retreated from its principle of incorporating within itself an alternative to the Government; we and Parliament are the poorer by that retreat.

Today we are being promised (in tones that sound more like a threat) that the stagnation of Parliament which is represented as national unity must be projected into the peace. A people can be no more free than its Parliament. Let it be remembered that Fox in opposition is as true a symbol of Britain, and of freedom, as the triumphant Pitt in office.

ANOTHER "ABSOLUTIST" SPEAKS

In Peace News (May 28) John Morley stated "a case for the absolutist." Here another absolutist states another case.

I SUPPOSE I must call myself an "absolutist," though I dislike labels, and as one who takes that position there was much in John Morley's article that I agree with. I support warmly his statement that:

"Many men adopt the same 'negative' attitude as did the early Christians and refuse to sanction the claim of the Government to compel them to assist to wage war or work conscription, for even such tacit approval would be felt to be a violation of their deepest convictions."

That "speaks to my condition." I too believe that a Government which is regarded as representing a Christian community is not fulfilling its responsibility to that community when it conscripts human beings and material resources for war, and that therefore I cannot give my willing consent to any part of that conscription or organization of the community for war purposes. This conviction has led me to refuse every kind of registration.

Where I part company with John Morley is in his attitude to those who are prepared to go some way to meet the requirements of authority. Must we really believe that most of these men and women suffer purgatory because of an inner conviction that they have compromised their pacifist faith? I believe Max Plowman was not an absolutist, but many of us considered that our movement had lost a leader of the greatest integrity and clarity of vision when we lost Max.

INDIVIDUAL AND STATE

Let me try to state the case as I see it. Whether we take the absolutist position or not seems to me to depend on two things:

- (a) The intensity of our desire to witness against war,
- (b) Whether our conception of the nature of society and the relation of the individual to the State is such as enables us to make this maximum protest against war without failing in what we believe to be our duty towards society.

I hold that the second determines the nature of our stand more often than the first.

FELLOWSHIP

The PPU is a fellowship of those who believe that integrity of conscience, the determination to follow the inner light of truth wherever it may lead, is something of inestimable value.

Surely we who have taken up the absolutist position, because we see in the whole machinery of modern war one of the greatest enemies of this

personal integrity, should be the first to recognize that this obedience to conscience may as easily find expression in the "exemptionist" stand as in the "absolutist." The only exemptionists who need feel that they are compromising are those who, if they had obeyed their inner light implicitly would have been absolutists.

That is not the same thing as saying that we believe all degrees of war resistance to be equally effective. Many of us wish there were more in our movement who could feel able to join forces with us in our more extreme protest. It is natural to feel most confidence in the path which you yourself follow. But I would not dare to claim that the path which is right for me is necessarily right for all men at all times and that any other path is followed only at the cost of an uneasy conscience.

We should learn to recognize the value of the faithful working out of any personal conviction based on obedience to the truth as perceived. This will remain for me the most precious thing in the PPU.

EXPERIENCE OF PURGATORY

Purgatory? Of course we are all in a kind of purgatory, at least in so far as we are sensitive. Those of us who are compelled by our convictions to refuse cooperation again and again with our fellow men experience it as surely as those who have the more complicated task of maintaining the pacifist witness in a closer relationship with existing society.

But it is not the purgatory of an uneasy conscience, but arises from our sense of sharing in the misery and tragedy of our daily life with one another, and from our acuter awareness of the mockery of brotherhood which war involves. We should accept it gladly. It is our share of the world's pain which, if turned to right account, will give us a deeper understanding of the spiritual hunger which will follow this cataclysm.

Underneath we may know tranquility and the experience of a unity which war cannot destroy. But while the agony lasts (and it remains agony even though we believe it to be sin) we accept the surface strain which comes to us all; absolutists and exemptionists, pacifists and our conscripted brothers.

Winifred Rawlins

TOUCH OF HUMANITY

Called up with the Supplementary Reserve in August, 1939, Arthur Duggan, of Selly Oak, Birmingham, escaped from Rennes in June, 1940, was sent out and captured in Greece in April, 1941, and remained a prisoner of war until his sudden death in Stalag XVIII A.

The Germans erected an elaborate cross over his grave, incorporating the figure of the crucified Christ, a photograph of which was sent by one of his comrades to his widow.

The photograph was submitted by her to the Birmingham Mail (which published it on Mar. 16) "in the hope that it may console some mother, wife, or sweetheart to know that there is a touch of humanity even in the enemy."

What Hope of the Orthodox?

IT is a commonplace to say that orthodoxy is very far from being orthodox nowadays: traditional Christianity is no longer in the main stream of modern thought.

The Christian pacifist is apt to take advantage of this. Does it not, he asks, free him from the bondage of the past? Is not his religion—while remaining the primitive faith of Christ—something so pure and lofty that the historic church cannot contain it?

He knows, of course, he is no better than ordinary Christians, though he is quite sure he ought to be. And secretly he feels that, if his pacifism is God's truth, then ultimately the great body of Christians will accept it.

It is hard, though, not to be impatient. Why are the orthodox, for the most part, so slow to see what is writ large on nearly every page of the gospels?

HERE is a problem which needs more understanding on both sides.

Fr. Alec Vidler has pointed out that both the Christian pacifist and the Christian non-pacifist have, it appears, an irrefutable case. On his own premises and in his own sphere of ideas his conclusions are unavoidable.

But, somehow, pacifist and non-pacifist never come to grips. Each can make his own case, but neither can answer the other's.

The pacifist argues what *ought* to be, while the non-pacifist is mainly concerned with what is practicable. Since the philosophers say that "ought" implies "can", the non-pacifist superficially gets the better of the argument.

But here another question arises: Are we to say that Christ commanded the impossible? Christian pacifism makes the answer "No", and risks the consequences.

HOW is this gulf which divides Christian from Christian to be bridged?

Surely the pacifist must face up to the problem of what can actually be done. If he is to make converts, he must realize that the objections of the orthodox are far from frivolous. These are primarily two:

- (1) The orthodox take original sin seriously. They know human nature is self-seeking and doesn't change much. And they know how seldom good intentions are realized. "The good that I would I do not; but the evil which I would not, that I do."
- (2) Better than pacifists, the orthodox realize that Christians are up against a concrete situation and must do something positive about it. They admit the policy they advocate is a bad second-best, but at least it can be put into practice here and now.

SO those of us who are pacifists would do well to ask ourselves if we are keeping our heads in the clouds of perfectionism. If we are, Christians with a sense of duty will relegate us to the limbo of Godwin and the nineteenth century.

And, secondly, we should frankly face the fact that our policy is not immediately practicable. We ought to say to the non-pacifist:

"Our policy won't work here and now. People don't believe it, so they can't act on it. When they do, it will be different. In the meantime I cannot support you, because by prolonging the war you are only making matters worse and making it harder to build the peace. So we are forced to confine ourselves to mitigating the evils of war."

When we begin to talk like this orthodox Christians will begin to see our case. We shall be on the road to understanding.

A. R. LEWIS

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The Strange Case of the Engine Driver

The subject of my address tonight is *The Relation of the Part to the Whole*, says Prof. OWLGLASS

"AM reminded of the importance of this question by the simultaneous appearance on my desk of two press headlines:—

- (1) BRITAIN HAS SAVED EUROPE
- (2) RAF BLITZ ON NAZI TRAINS

Now, readers are already acquainted with the problem that arises from the fact that, in order to save Europe, we have to kill off an indefinite number of Europeans.

From this situation certain questions arise. E.g.: Are those Europeans whom we kill included in the list of the saved, or are they written off as overhead costs?

Again: What are the limits, if any, to the amount of killing necessary to salvation? Supposing the process of Europe-saving proves harder than expected, and we have to go on killing Europeans until all or most of them are dead, who or what will have been saved, and from what?

PURSUED to this problematical point, the argument leads only to one conclusion: that the interests of Europe and the interests of Europeans are not identical, but must be said merely to overlap at certain points.

Now this apparent conflict between

the Part and the Whole is not unique.

It is a common experience, in peace as in war, for the citizen of any modern State to discover that he is leading a double life. A dual personality is forced upon him, and it is frequently difficult to decide which of the two he is supposed to be.

For example: I recall an occasion, during the economic blizzard, when the press announced that as a result of the installation of labour-saving machinery in Government Departments, "The nation has saved £1,000,000 in officials' and typists' salaries."

In that case the exact position of a Government clerk was hard to define. As a clerk he had lost his wages; as a member of the nation he had saved them.

"Am I"—he would ask of his soul in some perplexity—"Am I better off or worse? What I lose as a clerk I gain as an Englishman. As which, therefore, shall I regard myself?"

EMBARRASSING as this problem is, it is not impossible of solution.

In such a situation, a man has at least a clear idea of what the two

conflicting sections of his identity really are. Both the Part and the Whole are clearly defined. And should the Part complain of the relationship, you can tell him that if he knows a better Whole he can go to it.

The second headline, however—"RAF Blitz on Nazi Trains"—confronts us with a far more complicated situation.

It is one thing to determine the relation of a Part to a specific and definable Whole. It is quite another thing to fix the relation of a Part to two conflicting and mutually destructive Wholes.

For on reading the accompanying story I observe that a large number of the blitzed trains are French trains, run by French drivers.

This places the individual engine driver in an extremely paradoxical position. For observe: He is at one and the same time a European being saved and a Nazi being blitzed.

He is both friend and foe, and as such, he is being both saved and destroyed simultaneously.

NOW, we are accustomed to conceptions of the multi-fold nature of Man.

But hitherto, whether we have regarded him as a combination of body and soul, a trinity of body, soul, and spirit or a complex of physical, etheric, astral and personal elements, his sub-divisions have in nowise threatened his integrity.

They have, indeed, but emphasized his essential unity and given him a definable cosmic status.

But this French engine driver has no such status. By splitting his personality into two irreconcilable halves, we condemn him to incurable Jekyll-Hydrophobia and inflict upon him a schizophrenic condition so complete as to deprive him of recognizable existence.

This is intolerable. If ever there was a case for a railway strike, this is it.

Yet, in the very extremity of this engine driver's case, I think we may find the solution of our problem.

For in thus placing him into two antithetical categories we cancel his identity out. And, as anyone knows who has tried to get a ration-book without an identity card, officially he does not exist.

He is nobody. And if his engine is blitzed, nobody gets hurt.

I am glad of this. I was beginning to worry about the fellow.

Letters to the Editor

Owing to the large number of claims on our severely limited space, correspondents are urged to keep their letters very brief, and preferably under 250 words.

EFFECTS OF BOMBING

WHEN we know the whole history of this war it seems more than probable that Hitler's worst strategic mistake will prove to have been the bombing of the cities of Britain. For when the time came for him to attack Russia (which one can easily believe was part of his original plan) he had so antagonized our rulers that, in spite of their natural desire to see Germany mop up the Soviets, their unreasoning anger drove them to help the detested Bolsheviks to smash the capitalist Nazis.

But if Hitler's Nemesis for bombing Britain is losing the war, what will be Britain's Nemesis for bombing Germany? Nothing less, I believe than losing the peace, which can very well be more serious than losing the war. For the Germans will be so filled with the desire for revenge that they also will side with Russia in a more realistic alliance of Communist nations against the Britain whose uneasy alliance with the Soviets apparently depends on the existence of an unbeaten Germany.

But that Britain will suffer her Nemesis is clearly shown by the light of spiritual law. "With what measure ye mete it shall be measured to you."

I heard this conversation recently between a mother and her soldier son on leave. The mother said "Isn't it terrible to think of these German dams being smashed and the floods sweeping away men, women, and little children without distinction?" The son replied, "Of course it's horrible. But war is horrible, and the more horrible you can make it the sooner it will be over."

I have no doubt that many German airmen justified it that way to themselves as they bombed our cities. But does it work that way? A far more certain result will surely be that the devastation will be more complete, more lasting and irreparable, and the harvest of hate more difficult to eradicate.

JOHN H. BROCKLESBY

44 Burringham Rd., Scunthorpe.

Causes of War

In writing of "Japan" and what "she" has done, Mr. Tom Sullivan is taking for granted the very assumption which I claim to be the main cause of international war, namely political nationalism; it is preposterous, although conventional, that millions of persons whose characters, ideals, and even material interests differ should be regarded and treated as an individual. His other point, respecting international trade, I have already answered in replying to Mr. Cunliffe.

Mr. Summers correctly interprets my argument, but he proceeds to point out that there are other elements than nationalism that can unite people in antagonism to others, issuing in war. This is true, but such wars are civil wars, whereas my contention relates only to international conflict. In my opinion, civil war has its roots in human nature, international war in the world political system; the remedies are consequently different. Eliminate the twins of nationalism ("national unity" and State sovereignty) and international war disappears. Admittedly international trading may provide occasions of conflict, but it also knits up relationships and interests adverse to war; and, as previously mentioned, economic or financial must be linked to nationalism before international war can arise from them. It is doubtful whether "justice and sanity" need necessarily precede federation, but they would certainly accrue from it; however, the prospect of World Federation can hardly improve with the prospect of military victory.

Failing strong evidence, I cannot accept Mr. Summers's suggestion that economic considerations came first at Versailles. Official "France" desired the enfeeblement of the German military machine, while official "Britain"—with a suspicious eye on French Continental hegemony—was satisfied with the break-up of German naval power; to these considerations all else was secondary. And the present conflict also demonstrates that economic and financial influences, however strong, are subordinate to "winning the war" and "national survival."

A fellow like Palmerston can stir "national war feeling" against Greeks by relating the troubles of a British Jew in Athens, the appeal being entirely political, based upon "British prestige," but no economic or financial appeal would have a like effect; and nationalism has certainly not diminished since the days of "Pam."

JOHN NIBB

BM/JONIB, WC1.

Gandhi Appeals to the World

AT last the full text of Gandhi's appeals to every Briton, to Japan, to the Americans, and to China has been published in this country. The new booklet* of his articles and interviews during the three months preceding the arrest last year opens with a dramatic appeal to ourselves:

"This time my appeal must be to every Briton in the world. He may be nobody in the councils of the nation. But in the empire of non-violence every true thought counts, every true voice has its full value."

His appeal is for "a bloodless end of an unnatural domination and for a new era." In the light of Britain's policy towards India Gandhi can no longer say that his moral support is entirely with Britain.

"Though I do not wish any humiliation to Britain—and, therefore, no defeat—my mind refuses to give her any moral support."

But he is certain that "Free India will make common cause with the Allies." He is perfectly clear about what such co-operation implies—we can see now how much the White Paper chose to ignore.

"I cannot say that Free India will take part in militarism, or choose to go the non-violent way. But I say without hesitation that if I can turn India to non-violence, I will certainly do so."

He warns the Japanese that, if they attempt to step into the country "we will not fail in resisting you with all the might that our country can muster." In an interview he elaborated the point somewhat. If the non-violent technique is adopted

"there can be nothing like preventing an invasion. They will land, but they will land on an inhospitable shore. They may be ruthless and wipe out all the 400 millions. That would be complete victory."

I wonder how many English readers will understand that he means this would be complete victory for India!

The fragments of his last great speech at the All-India Congress after the passing of the resolution on Aug. 8 are inspiring.

"I take up my task of leading you in this struggle, not as your commander, not as your controller, but as the humble servant of you all; and he who serves best becomes the chief among them."

He spoke, too, of

"the voice within me. Call it conscience, call it by anything you like; call it the promptings of my basic nature; I do not mind how you describe it, but there is something there. That voice tells me that I shall have to fight against the whole world and stand alone; it also tells me: 'You are safe so long as you stare the world in the face, although the world may have bloodshot eyes. Do not fear the world but go ahead, with the fear of God in you.'"

*"I Ask Every Briton," by M. K. Gandhi. Lindsay Drummond, Ltd., 2s. 6d.

There is a note of finality in these last speeches, in his solemn pledge to Chiang Kai-Shek: "I would not be guilty of purchasing the freedom of my country at the cost of your country's freedom," and in his dignified answer to an interviewer on that momentous Aug. 8:

"Peace I want among all mankind, but I don't want peace at any cost, and certainly not by placating the aggressor or at the cost of honour."

ROY WALKER

No Other Foundation. By the Rev. Alan Balding. Fellowship of Reconciliation (17 Red Lion Square, London, W.C.1). 2s. 6d.

Each of the five essays in this book takes for its "text" one of the five paragraphs in "The Basis" of the FoR. In a foreword Mrs. Henry Hodgkin expresses the hope that it "may be read by every member of the Fellowship on both sides of the Atlantic, and far beyond our borders." As a series of "studies in the nature of Christian discipleship," it is not in the nature of a direct attempt to "convert" the non-pacifist Christian; but among thoughtful readers of that persuasion it might prove all the more effective for that very reason—especially as it does not shirk any of the difficulties involved in acceptance of the pacifist position.

A Letter from Norway

"In the good old days," when students came to Britain, from all over the world, among them was a Norwegian girl who went to ham, where she made friends (including a memories of this country).

Here is an extract from her latest letter to memories help her to face the difficulties of

SO much has happened these three years, so much of cruelty and horror; so it is not always easy to keep faith. And often difficult to remember the fellowship for all men, difficult to keep hate and hardness out of the heart. There certainly are good books to read and good people to talk to, but, far more important, great things to fight for and fine people to fight with—and Gandhi as the teacher. You will know that there is enough to fight against for each one of us, but some have for their enemies also the hate and bitterness which tries to conquer us and which, by too many, is welcomed as a weapon in our struggle.

One thing is well worth noticing: those who meet what we think the most cruel fate leave messages behind of love and forgiveness, hoping for peace and reconciliation only. They are many, many, and they were not born heroes and saints, but they fought their fight and ours, and they took their fate unflinchingly and left without wish of revenge.

If we could only be allowed to do

to Britain, from all over the world, among them was a Norwegian girl who went to ham, where she made friends (including a memories of this country).

one of those friends which tells how these life in her country now.

our bit for a new age; perhaps now we are learning how serious the fight must be. . . Those fighting a good fight are generally rather lonely, but not so with us here; and that has been a fine experience. . .

The most tragic thing with us has been that a few sided with the aggressor and got power to attack not only the body but also the mind of the people. They have no success at all, but so many have to suffer. A. was sent North with hundreds of his colleagues; a tough time indeed, but nearly all survived, though not the health of all. You may be proud of your Norwegian colleagues—they did not give way.

LETTERS

C.O.s' Witness

IN a recent "absolutist" case before an appellate tribunal, the appellant is reported to have said "that while it was God's will that he should not do agricultural work, it was equally the will of God that he should continue plumbing." However incompletely expressed, there is implicit in this statement a fundamental principle: nothing less than the supremacy of the individual conscience as against any mundane authority, even that of the State.

There are many non-pacifists, as well as pacifists, who thus repudiate the moral right of the State to conscript men and women. In maintaining this witness they join the ranks of men and women of former generations, who have been willing for conscience sake to suffer imprisonment, torture, and even death. Does not history confirm that they were right and that the good achieved has been independent of the force of arms; that our freedom and free institutions have been won for us by those who repudiated external authority of various kinds?

In this issue of conscription there is also involved another vital issue, namely, our conception of society and the State. It may be that in maintaining our witness to the supremacy of the individual conscience as against the authority of the State, we are helping to preserve the vital conception that the State is a subordinate organ of English society, which is of overwhelming importance.

GEO. E. HARTLEY

Shirley, Smith Av.,
Old Colwyn, N. Wales.

The net referred to by John Chapman has, in cases of which I am aware, not been drawn. The Ministry of Labour have wisely not attempted to debar absolutists from work for any length of time and have allowed the CO to pursue the occupation he desires by withdrawing directions or issuing unemployment cards where these were the bar to obtaining work.

If the net had been rigidly drawn I feel that co-operation, common sense, and the ultimate goodness of human nature would have broken it.

Not that I should advise a CO for national reasons to disobey directions. I feel that only the "conscious plunge into insecurity" (referred to by Middleton Murry in his introduction to Max Plowman's "Right to Live") is likely to produce beneficial results.

Unless the CO feels it necessary to take up work repugnant to the Ministry, there would seem little to bar the absolutist from doing land or social work provided he does not do it to avoid prison (e.g. in fulfilment of a condition or direction) and makes it clear that he does not bind himself morally to continue this work "for the duration" whatever the law may be.

PAUL D. ABBOTT

3 Defoe Av., Kew Gardens.

I hardly think too much attention can be drawn to the case of George Philip Elphick, the Lewes CO who, having been summoned on four previous occasions and having served three terms of imprisonment, has been sentenced to two months' imprisonment for failure to perform fire-watching duties.

The repeated infliction by any court of short sentences or of fines that cannot conscientiously be paid is redolent of the worst features of "cat and mouse" treatment. Too much optimism has been felt among pacifists that this was largely a thing of the past.

I met Elphick in prison and know him to be a man of simplicity, sincerely religious, and free of any mere recalcitrance in the stand that he has taken. He seems to me to have set a very necessary example in integrity to his fellow COs, particularly to those self-styled "absolutists" who have not hesitated, after one dose of prison, to sacrifice conscience to convenience.

HUGH BARNASCHOU

28 Glenfalls Av.,
Patcham, Brighton.

Russia and Poland

"Observer" states in his Commentary that "Russia does not intend to allow Poland an independent national existence at all."

In Nov. 1939 M. Molotov, then USSR Foreign Secretary, referred to Poland as "this ugly offspring of the Versailles Treaty," and went on to state: "Everybody realizes that there can be no question of restoring the old Poland; it is therefore absurd to continue the present war under the flag of restoration of the former Polish State." M. Molotov said also, "We have always held that a strong Germany is an indispensable condition for a durable peace in Europe."

The picture of the international jig-saw is missing. Solvers will have a job getting their heads together, let alone the "pieces."

S. GORDON HOGG

15 Dunstan Rd.,
Tunbridge Wells.

To Vegetarian - Pacifists

I am interested in contacting vegetarian-pacifists in England. I am founder and president of the Vegetarian-Pacifist Society, begun Dec., 1942. Are any organizations existing in your country, based upon the principles of Brotherhood, Pacifism, and Vegetarianism? If so, I would appreciate your contacting them for me.

One of the projects the VPS is engaged in is supplying vegetarian COs in camps with health foods, books, clothing, etc.

RUBIN ABRAMOWITZ

Vegetarian-Pacifist Society,
405 Rookaway Parkway,
Brooklyn, N.Y., U.S.A.

(Continued from page 4)

Control of the Machine

I READ the letter from Kathleen Spooner in reply to Mr. Wilfred Wellock, and your footnote comment thereon in your May 28 issue.

Mrs. Spooner represents a point of view that is very general: the despising of agriculture as compared with the more progressive industrialism. If agriculture occupies a lowly position in the social scale, that is no reflection on agriculture, but rather on society for allowing it.

The idea that agriculture has roots in comparison with the wings of freedom of more enlightened spheres is not quite an exact simile. It would be more correct to say that nearly all our culture had its roots originally in the soil.

The farmer, instead of being a drudge, might be compared to the owner of a small kingdom. He can be a planner, an engineer, a manager, a designer, a multitude of things as well as a farmer, as his profession calls for so much.

Mrs. Spooner's views on agriculture, as generally accepted, have led to the scientific industrialization of agriculture, as exemplified in America, which has led in turn to the soil erosion, so pitifully expounded in your footnote. This is, as you rightly suggest, a deadly menace to the future. The semi-deserts in Western Canada and America are the results of "emancipated agriculture." The shiftless Arab and his goat, and the progressive Western farmer and his tractor have both created deserts—how strange! Mixed farming, or a return to grass would seem to be the solution, if it is not too late. The problem of settling the vast areas of the British Dominions and their marginal lands can only be solved in my opinion if peasant farming is accepted as the solution. This entails peasantry, and as Britain has not got any, it means allowing the peasantry of Europe to come in. The Dominion Governments, with their narrow monopolistic outlook, are wedded to commercial exploitation, rather than to long-term settlement. They are just standing in the way of the interests of the world in general and might be compared with the privileged nobility of the Middle Ages.

As the causes of the war are mainly the efforts of the Axis Powers to get a better living for their people, this state of things cannot be allowed to continue.

H. O'BRIEN

With regard to your comment to my letter of May 28, I would point out that at the moment famine does not belong to the past but, for the first time in history, it is within our power to make it so. To blame science for soil erosion in America, Australia, and Africa seems to me fantastic. Surely it is due either to natural causes or to the exploitation of the soil by ignorant get-rich-quick farmers—the latter particularly in the USA—and I believe the solution will rather be found by Grass Research Stations and similar institutions than the methods advocated by Mr. Wellock.

We can't live backwards. Neolithic villages were self-sufficient but they didn't satisfy even neolithic men and women, for as soon as a food surplus could be produced the villages evolved slowly into the great cities of Sumer and Akkad. The machines cannot be destroyed, but they can be controlled, and I want to see the pacifist movement doing its best to bring about that control. The Food Conference in America and the debate on civil aviation in the House of Commons are hopeful signs, and I was very much interested in the article on the Food Conference in PN, May 28. I hope we shall have more articles and comments on these vital questions.

(Mrs.) KATHLEEN SPOONER

2nd Sun House,
Station Rd., Amersham.

WORDS OF PEACE—26

Forgiveness

Emily Hobhouse, in 1913, at the dedication in South Africa of the national monument to the thousands of Boer women and children who died in the British concentration camps during the war of 1899-1902:

ALONGSIDE of the honour we pay the sainted dead, forgiveness must find a place. I have read that when Christ said, "Forgive your enemies," it is not only for the sake of the enemy he says so, but for one's own sake, because love is more beautiful. Surely your dead, with the wisdom that now is theirs, know this. To harbour hate is fatal to your own being, it makes a flaw; for hatred eats, like rust, into the soul of a nation, as of an individual.

As your tribute to the dead, bury unforgiveness and bitterness at the foot of this monument for ever. Instead, for you can afford it, forgive the rich who were greedy of more riches, the statesman who could not guide his country aright, the bad generalship that warred on babes and weaklings—forgive! for so only can you rise to full nobility of soul and to a national life that is noble and broad. It is not the rich and prosperous that matter most, but you, who live the simplest lives, you, upon whom in the last resort, if trial shall come, there falls the test of national character.

A DOCTOR'S PLEA TO PACIFISTS

By Alfred Salter, M.D., M.P.

LAST November a Ministry of Health Report announced that over 70,000 new cases of venereal disease had applied for treatment at civilian hospitals and clinics. No statistics relating to the Army, Navy, or Air Force are allowed to be published for "security reasons."

This recorded increase shows a 70 per cent. advance over the previous year, and with the issue of the forthcoming report it is already announced that the additional percentage will exceed 100 per cent. There has to be added to these the estimated number of Service cases, and the total cannot be less than 250,000.

In 1928 there were actually traced, from civil records, over 16,000 expectant mothers, infected by their husbands, who would transmit the disease to their unborn children. In 1916 a Royal Commission found that no less than 10 per cent. of the population in this country was suffering from syphilis.

Regulation 33B was introduced recently by the Government to make certain amendments to the law relating to VD. I refrain from discussing here the value of such an Order, which is clearly aimed at professional or amateur prostitutes. Street prostitution and solicitation have markedly declined in recent years, but the possibility remains that the offenders are young girls who hang about camps, hostels, factories and so on. I would only say that I doubt very much if these Regulations are of the slightest value.

It is necessary to emphasize the horrible and loathsome nature of syphilis. It accounts for 15 per cent. of all admissions to mental hospitals and for 16 per cent. of all still births.

As regards gonorrhoea, it is responsible for 50 per cent. of cases of sterility in women, and 70 per cent. of blindness in new-born babies. Only people who have had close contact with gonorrhoea can appreciate the appalling tragedy of hospitals full of blind babies and young infants.

Many of the diseases of married women are attributable to syphilis. It is responsible for an unknown number of miscarriages. To it are due the awful sufferings of general paralysis of the insane, locomotor ataxy, aneurysm, syphilitic aortitis, partial or complete blindness in adults, abscesses in bones, hideous disfigurements, fibrous disease of the heart liver, and spleen, as well as an infinitude of ill-health.

In many cases of syphilis the initial symptoms are slight or negligible, and the tertiary stages of the disease do not show themselves for 5, 10, or 15 years. It is an interesting fact that while normally the active or communicable stage of the disease lasts from 2 to 3 years, yet very often the primary and secondary symptoms, which result in general paralysis and locomotor ataxy, are quite

trivial and only the fulminating onslaught of GPI and the staggering gait of locomotor ataxy give the clue 10 or 20 years later.

Persons who have mumps or measles are not ashamed to talk about it. People who have contracted syphilis or gonorrhoea are not only ashamed, but take every care to conceal the fact. It is plainly a moral disease as well as a physical.

VD has been described as the camp follower of war and is its inevitable accompaniment. Young people who are excited and away from home, who are subjected to the strain of war, who are herded together in masses, who are separated from their families, and above all who have strong drink thrust in front of them are most likely to succumb to the temptation to immoral intercourse. All statistics declare that young men from 19 to 23 years of age are the chief sufferers.

Think of this and remember that your sins may not find you out till a much later stage when you are, or think you are, happily settled in marriage. You may then show signs of the most painful form of insanity or some other apparently strange disease of which you had no knowledge and to which you gave no thought years before!

I am writing this with especial reference to conscientious objectors. A few people in this category contracted VD in the last war, and present indications seem to suggest that some may fall into temptation in the present instance.

Most of our people are total abstainers, but not all. Out of 42 men who were approached in a venereal ward of a hospital recently, no fewer than 36 admitted that but for the drink they would not have caught the disease. I appeal most earnestly to every CO away from home, lonely, and bored, perhaps, to keep away from intoxicants and to resist every temptation to promiscuous sexual intercourse. God will help you!

There is a superstition that a man suffers in health if he is strictly continent. Medical opinion is unanimous that such is not the case, and that he can keep perfectly well, mentally and physically, however long he may abstain from promiscuity. What is morally right is bound also to be medically right.

The fact of sex is of the divine order of the universe. Marriage introduces a man and woman to intimacies of a peculiarly sacred and personal nature. Wedded life is a spiritual comradeship associated with physical intimacy. Promiscuous indulgence leads to a coarsening of imagination and desire which shuts out the nobler aspects of love and the true companionship of the sexes.

The Provost of Birmingham, speaking on Mar. 10, said "But for drink, venereal disease would be enormously reduced." I implore all COs to avoid strong drink like the devil it is, for drink inflames the passions, weakens the will to resist, muddles the intellect, and leads directly into temptation.

Why P.P.U. Members Should Support the ARMISTICE CAMPAIGN

"In moving the W. Midland Area Resolution at AGM I was concerned to present not the case for an armistice but the case for the RPU making an armistice campaign its most important activity at the present time. I make the same distinction here," says

CONSTANCE BRAITHWAITE

THERE are many good arguments against an armistice without victory but they are all also arguments against pacifism.

I can well understand the attitude of non-pacifists who would support a negotiated peace, but feel it wrong to withhold their personal services from their country's war effort as long as the war continues. It is just such non-pacifists whom we hope to enlist along with pacifists in an armistice campaign.

But I cannot understand the reverse attitude of personal pacifists who feel that it is not their duty to do all that they can to press for an armistice. Such pacifists seem to me to be consenting to others continuing to do for them actions which they are morally unwilling to do themselves.

There are, or should be, two aspects of our actions and attitudes as pacifists—we are both individuals and citizens. As individuals, our pacifism is expressed partly as conscientious objectors and partly in varied spheres of personal relations and community service.

We may hope that we should continue to express our pacifism in these ways even under a totalitarian regime in which we might have no rights as citizens. But under present circum-

stances in Britain we have still the rights of responsible citizens of a democracy, even though the effective exercise of these rights has been considerably limited by war-time restrictions.

The rights of democratic citizenship involve corresponding obligations: Our Government is at present bombing German and Italian towns, starving millions of people in Europe, and contemplating the sacrifice of thousands of British young men in a Second Front in our name. Mr. Churchill is responsible to us as well as to our fellow citizens who support the war. We cannot escape our share of responsibility for his actions unless we dissociate ourselves from his war policy as continually and emphatically as possible and collectively as well as individually.

The PPU in the past three years has failed to do this. In the years preceding the war and during the first few months of the war we did impress public opinion with the fact that there was a body of citizens collectively and publicly opposing the war. Since 1940 our hearts seem to have failed us, and this collective witness has been reduced to the uncoordinated activities of keen local groups and the occasional efforts of parliamentary bye-elections.

(Continued on page 6)

THE basis of the Peace Pledge Union is the following pledge which is signed by each member:
I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER.
The address to which new signatures of the pledge should be sent, and from which further particulars may be obtained is:
★ PPU HEADQUARTERS, ★
Dick Sheppard Hse., Endsleigh St., W.C.1

Basis for Peace by Negotiation

NEARLY 250 people, over 30 of them non-combatant soldiers stationed locally, listened with interest to the Duke of Bedford and Mr. James Hudson (PPU Treasurer) speak in support of a negotiated peace now, in Friends' Hall, Lancaster, on Saturday evening.

Presiding, Mr. Hudson said it was because he resented the wickedness of war that he was willing, as was the Duke of Bedford, to argue and reason anywhere in favour of some better policy than we were pursuing now. We were conducting the war not to fight Nazism in Germany but to impose it here. We ought to insist on the Labour Party, Churchill, and Roosevelt telling us precisely what it was they expected to get at the end of the war.

The Duke said we should intimate to the Axis countries that we were prepared to negotiate a just peace on the basis of the Golden Rule.

We should suggest peace be concluded on the basis that, for the first time in the world's history, the vast economic resources of the world were to be fully developed without financial hindrance; and shared out, regardless of political considerations, according to the needs of the nations. Wealthier nations would help poorer nations, if need be, by actual gifts of goods.

To people who said, "We can't trust the Nazis," his reply was: "If you play your cards well it doesn't matter two hoots whether you trust them or not; their own people will see that they accept good, equitable peace terms."

The suggestion that we should police Germany after the war and re-educate her children was bunkum (applause).

In our peace terms we must tell the Axis that there would be a fairer sharing of the world's resources, no military domination, and a fairer financial system. Only by a real, living communion and co-operation with God could the world's problems be solved.

The Duke, answering questions, gave chapter and verse for each reply. The audience, fairly equally pacifist and war-supporting, were clearly impressed and even enthusiastic about the meeting.

CONSTANCE BRAITHWAITE

(Continued from page 5)

I hope that the armistice campaign will revive the collective public protest of pacifists, and I shall consider it justified even if this is its only effect.

But will this be its only effect? Will an armistice campaign be completely ineffective in the sense of converting no-one outside our own ranks?

I am not an optimist on this matter, but I think that to assume complete ineffectiveness is to take too gloomy a view. Our fellow citizens who are not pacifists are not all ardent militarists. Many of them have suffered and are suffering from the war far more than many of us are, for we may be in the fortunate and exceptional position of having no-one personally dear to us in danger of death or mutilation in the near future.

There must be many who long for peace rather than for victory and who, while refusing in past years to submit through fear of defeat, would not think it either right or worth while, now that defeat has been averted, to continue fighting for unconditional victory if they could see any honourable alternative. Our business in the armistice campaign is to present to such people an honourable alternative to the unconditional surrender of the Axis Powers, and if we in the PPU fail to do this no-one else is likely to do it.

The growth of any considerable body of opinion in favour of an armistice might well shorten the war by months, if not by years, and even if it did not shorten the war by a day it would spread a leaven of realistic and generous opinion on international affairs which would affect the terms of peace and the attitude of the British public to post-war problems.

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NEWS of C.O.s

FOLLOWING representations by the Central Board for COs, there is to be an inquiry into the case of Albert Barlow, of Abingdon, who is alleged to have been seriously man-handled while being forcibly dressed before being taken to detention barracks.

He had been sentenced by his second court martial to 56 days' detention, a sentence that did not enable him to apply again to the Advisory Tribunal, which had rejected his claim as a CO while serving a sentence of six months' imprisonment imposed by his first court-martial. It is alleged that, after the incident in question had taken place, Albert Barlow fainted at the station, had to be taken by transport all the way, and on arrival had his ribs strapped up by the Medical Officer. He is still in hospital.

Investigations are still proceeding into the case of Victor Walker, the CO who died some weeks after the end of a 12 months' sentence imposed on Dec. 2, 1941.

Giving this information in reply to a question by Mr. J. McGovern, MP, in Parliament on Jun. 3, Mr. Herbert Morrison promised to communicate with him as soon as the investigations were completed. Mr. McGovern had asked what treatment was given Victor Walker "by the prison authorities after receipt of his brother's letter expressing alarm, on Apr. 20, 1942, and the first diagnosis of heart trouble on May 18, 1942."

According to the May 15 issue of The Reporter (fortnightly Bulletin of the National Service Board for Religious Objectors, Washington), the Danbury hunger-strikers, Louis Taylor and Stanley Murphy, have ended their fast preparatory to being paroled to some form

of special service. The men are now recuperating and should be able to leave the prison within three months. They had fasted for 82 days, during which they were forcibly fed in the prison hospital.

George Elphick, who, as reported recently, has been prosecuted five times for refusing to do fire-watching duty and is now serving his fourth prison sentence, has decided not to appeal against the sentence of two months' imprisonment imposed on him by Lewes Police Court on Jun. 8.

ADVISORY BUREAUX

Aberdare.—David Gethin Roberts, Ynyswen, Bronistyn Tce., Aberdare.

Aberystwyth individual advisor.—Dr. D. J. Davies, Arfryn, Caerog.

Blandford.—Ernest C. Greenfield, 35 Salisbury Rd., Blandford.

Cullampton individual advisor.—Donald Ironside, Spiceland, Blackborough.

E. Sussex District Acting Sec.—E. Tritton, Shepherd's Corner, Ringmer, Lewes.

Farnborough (Hants) individual advisor.—Frank O. Bevan, Blegberry, Windsor Rd., Farnborough.

Farnham (Surrey) individual advisor.—Frederick Lawson, Hayburn, Runfold.

Llandudno.—Richard Newton, 1, Dinas Rd., W. Shore.

Streatham (S.W.2 and S.W.16).—E. A. Whittaker, 76 Mount Nod Rd., S.W.16.

When settling accounts with Peace News (whether for supplies or advertisements) please do not use postage stamps for payment, except for odd pence up to sixpence. Postal orders and cheques facilitate book-keeping and banking.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

LAND & COMMUNITY

EVANGELICAL Catholic community wants men for market garden; those with knowledge of foreign stamps, carpentry, or typing preferred. Also assistant for book and church furnishing business (London), and part-time helper needed. No capital required Box 940 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

LITERATURE, &c.

INTERNATIONAL THOUGHTS by John Nbb, 1s. 6d., postage 3d. BM/JONIB, London, W.C.1.

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

RUTH FRY, Ronald Mallone, Norman Robbins write in "Christian Party Newsletter." 3d. from Mallard, 263 Queen's Rd., Londonderry, Smethwick, Staffs.

MEETINGS, &c.

ANARCHISM. Lecture-discussions every Wed., 7.15 p.m., 8 Endsleigh Gdns., W.C.1. Jun 30, Gerald Kingshott, "Origin and Growth of the State"; Jul 7, F. A. Ridley, "Burial of the Comintern."

LEWES 6th Annual Peace Weekend, Sat., Jun. 26, F.O.R. Day. Speaker: Rev. Leslie Artingstall, 2.45 and 4.15. Sun., Jun. 27, P.P.U. Regional and Area Meeting. Speaker: Sybil Morrison, 3 and 5. Picnic tea each day.

PERSONAL

BIRMINGHAM PACIFIST SERVICE needs Part-time Men (rescue) and Women (shelter feeding); should also be able type, make toys, or do club-work, etc.). Fellowship and Service. Write: "Whetstone," Somerset Rd., Birmingham 15.

JOIN Victory Correspondence Club, 84 Honeywell Rd., S.W.11, for congenial pen-friends. Stamp.

MAN, 30, wishes contact progressive, capable woman, view later hostel partnership (warden/matron). Strictly confidential. Box 952 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

PACIFIST, 30, wants holiday companion middle Aug., interested music, psychology; moderate walker or cyclist. Write Box 946 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

READERS interested in figures and mathematics may join correspondence group. Only expense stamps. Please write Box 956 PN, 3, Blackstock Rd., N.4.

SITUATIONS VACANT

ACTIVE MALE worker for market garden. Half-hour Central London. Three pacifists already employed. £3 weekly. H. A. Lewis, Fygon House Nurseries, Fygon Park, Brentford, Middlesex.

ARMISTICE CAMPAIGN, P.P.U. Organizer, man or woman, full or part-time, at least 3 months, salary by arrangement; applications close Jul. 16. Apply Acting Chairman, P.P.U. Armistice Campaign, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

C.O. and domesticated wife offered post in Home School for a small number of retarded youths. Good conditions, beautiful grounds, own private rooms but no space for furniture storage. Reserved posts. Give details of previous work. Box 951 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

C.O.s REQUIRING land work under a War Agricultural Committee and desiring to live in pacifist hostel apply to Warden, Agricultural Hostel, Dartmouth Av., Newcastle-u-Lyme, Staffs.

INTELLIGENT, lively, hard-working, House-mother for interesting work small pioneer co-ed Home-school. Live communally and share domestic duties with young staff; board, allowance. Photo. Freemount, Bacton, Hereford.

JUNIOR or beginner (male or female) urgently required by W. London Solicitors. Write with age, experience, and salary required to Box 948 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

MATRON required in Sep. for modern boarding school. Previous experience with sick children necessary. Burgess Hill School, Cranleigh, Surrey.

PACIFIST COUPLE require educated woman help; interest country life and animals. No children; small house. Apply Passavant, Newick, Sussex.

TEACHER, general subjects, games, wanted Sep.; nice post. Coventry Preparatory School, Bryn Aber Hall, Llannhaeadr, Oswestry, Salop.

FAMINE

A special issue of *Hellas*, containing an article by Vera Brittain is on sale today. Order through PPU Bookshop, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1, or newsagents.

FOOD prices in Greece rose by 30 per cent. in May, according to *Hellas*, Jun. 11. The Sunday Times has reported, although it is not confirmed from any other source, that the bread ration in Athens district has recently been reduced. As the fixing of the ration is in the hands of the Swiss-Swedish commission which controls the relief shipments, such a reduction would be perplexing, in addition to the obvious gravity of reducing a daily ration already as low as 7 oz.

M. Hubert Pierlot, Belgian Prime Minister, opening the official Belgian Exhibition in Edinburgh, said (according to the Scotsman, Jun. 12): "Among the children between 3 and 6 years of age, the medical inquiries have shown that 53 per cent. of them have an insufficient weight and height. Among the school-children 16 per cent. only are normal."

M. Pierlot pointed out that in addition to the more generally-known causes of the Belgian famine that the food resources of the Belgian Congo "were put at the disposal of Great Britain in 1940" and their offer "had been extended to the United States since they entered the war. The loss of Malaya and the Dutch East Indies had made the war effort of the Congo of great importance to the Allies."

The June quarterly meeting of the Woodfalls Methodist circuit resolved unanimously that the sending of aid to Europe "before the advent of another winter" was "a Christian duty which cannot be shirked whatever the dangers or difficulties."

DISPLAYED Advertisements. MAXIMUM space allowed: Three column-inches. LATEST TIME for copy first post Friday.

SITUATIONS VACANT (Cont.)

TRACTOR, lorry driver, general farm work, nr. London. Permanent post to interested worker; prospects; preference to non-conformist. Whetnall, Hatton Egg Farm, Feltham, Middlesex.

TWO HELPERS wanted in isolated country school. Hard but interesting work. Richard Phipps, Beer Farm School, Dulverton, Somerset.

WANTED. Cook housekeeper for bungalow in N. Devon; two in family, Salary £2 10s. per week. Write Mrs. Payne, Curia, Northam, N. Devon.

WILLING, strong Boy aged 14 or 15 required to help Christian pacifist farmer, nr. Preston, Lancashire. Good home. Box 955 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

SITUATIONS & WORK WANTED

C.O. MARRIED, agric. exemption, seeks situation. Fordson tractor and implement maintenance experience; own comprehensive kit of tools; capable driver. Box 945 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

C.O. ON LAND requires spare-time Secretarial and/or Accountancy work at home. Experienced; own typewriter. Box 957 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

C.O. REQUIRES land work in S. Manchester district or Cheshire. Experience land drainage; learn anything; work hard for reasonable employer. Box 944 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

C.O. (22), two years' market gardening, driving experience, requires position with good cottage. D. Scragg, 99 Rynal Place, Evesham.

C.O. (23) seeks more than donkey or merely palliative work. Will go anywhere for right job; what offers? Box 943 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

C.O. (35), 20 years' electrical eng. experience, seeks technical work in London area hospital. Box 954 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

EX-PRISON C.O. just out requires situation; will consider anything, anywhere; 20 years of age. Box 950 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

HARVEST help offered full time, Aug., Sep. Board required for wife and two young children. Somerset, N. Devon coast preferred. Box 939 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

MANCHESTER C.O. (L.R.A.M.) needs job. Urgent. Box 942 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

MASON, 43, C.O., vegetarian, son 15, nearly 6 ft., requires job farm building repairs. Had large experience plumbing, pumps water services, drive any motor vehicle, repairs agricultural implements, own welding plant, drilling machines, pipe dies and building tools. Delighted to work on land spare time. Offers suggestions; wages of secondary importance to suitable job. Box 953 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

YOUNG MAN, uncond. C.O., driver, wants market gardening job, live in, pocket money if opp. learn. Two years' experience, no crank. Box 941 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

WHERE TO STAY

DERBYSHIRE HILLS. Food Reform Vegetarian Guest House for happy holidays or restful recuperation; all modern comforts A. and K. S. Ludlow, The Briers, Crich, Matlock (Station: Ambergate: Tel. Ambergate 44).

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WYE VALLEY. Guest house in own parkland of 150 acres. Homely atmosphere. Vegetarians and others catered for. From £3. "Lindors," St. Briavels, Glos.

MISCELLANEOUS

GROUP MEDITATION (London). Yoga and Heard-Huxley theories. Active proponents, write Bragg, Merville, 105 Tulae Hill, S.W.2

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DETERMINED C.O.

CALLING AGAIN!

Disposal of business seems unlikely, so would any capable Radio Service Engineer consider assisting during my "captivity" on basis of high salary with share of profits and equitable "after the war" association. Business is excellent and well worth every effort to retain; capable manager (fully responsible) is in charge and able to cope with all but radio service, without which, prospects vague; 4 sets serviced per week would suffice. Please reply to Hoddesdon address—

F. S. Taieb, 57, High Street, Hoddesdon, and 4, Honey Lane, Hertford. Tel.: Hoddesdon 3102.